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ABSTRACT

A 1983 case study of four rural Utah communities assesses the early phases of a United States Forestry Service rangeland project which has as one of its goals a systematic intervention to arrest the decline of rurality and reinforce it in communities impacted by construction of a nearby major electrical power plant. With 1980 populations that ranged from 113 to 389, organizational and community structure of the four is very simple. No community leadership is oriented to rapid, large scale change. The evidence clearly indicates that each community exemplifies most aspects of rurality. The value system, interpersonal relations, and community social structure are extremely close to the idealized description of rurality. Although there are some variations in the degree to which the communities have accepted the project, the rangeland rehabilitation project is indeed acting as a reinforcer of the existing rurality. The first part of the report examines the theoretical basis of the argument for the decline of rurality, as well as arguments that it does not occur. The second part discusses a rationale for efforts to arrest decline. The third part focuses on the project's efforts to arrest decline in the four communities. (BRR)

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An Assessment of Government Efforts to Preserve Rurality

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An Assessment of Government Efforts to Preserve Rurality

A major issue in rural sociology has been the degree to which rural values and social structures have declined as a consequence of the urbanization and industrialization of rural areas. In addition, if it is assumed that the decline occurs, then another issue that arises is the degree to which it can be arrested by means of systematic actions by individuals and by agencies. This manuscript is divided into three parts. The first part examines the theoretical basis of the argument for the decline of rurality, as well as arguments that it does not occur. Second, a rationale for efforts to arrest the decline will be discussed. The third part of the work will focus on an example of an effort to arrest the decline and its evaluation. Recently, the United States Forest Service and other agencies implemented a project in Central Utah to improve the rangeland for cattle. It was undertaken in an area that is experiencing rapid, boom-like industrial development due to a major electrical power plant that is under construction. The area has been a sparsely populated agricultural region which, in recent years, has lost much of its population.

Part I

Rurality and Its Decline

Historically, rural communities have been characterized as having a concensus on a set of values and attitudes, exhibiting a collection of interpersonal relations, and a social structure that is unique to them in comparison to urban settings.

The set of values and attitudes has been characterized by Rohrer and Douglas (1969) as the agrarian ideology which consists of three fundamental claims. First, the farmer is viewed as an independent actor who is the equal of all other men, in partnership with God, and self-sufficient. Second, agriculture is the basic industry on which all progress and prosperity is based. Finally, agricultural life is natural and morally desirable, while urban living produces an emphasis on evil such as leisure and materialism in place of hard work and asceticism.

Recently, however, several sociologists have questioned whether there is now, or ever was, a wide acceptance of this ideology by the members of rural societies and whether there is any rural value system distinct from that of society in general. Gross and Donohue (1970) argue that this classical model of rural society and rural values...should not be taken as being descriptively accurate of past or present rural values and social organization...They conclude that "the United States is becoming a society with a single value system (p. 252)." This is supported by a number of closely related theoretical developments which seek to explicate the consequences of recent changes in the social organization and technologies of modern societies. They include the theories of industrialization, the organizational revolution, the development of postindustrial society, and emergence of

mass society. Each of these theoretical processes is claimed to have produced society-wide interdependencies, increased rural-urban contact, and convergence of values or rural inhabitants with those held by urban and suburban residents.

The question as to whether these processes have produced value convergence has not, however, gone completely unanswered. Several pieces of empirical research have attempted to determine whether convergence has actually occurred in specific communities. Some have

failed to find total convergence. Schnore (1966) found that rural place of residence and place of origin both have significant impacts on life experiences, including values, though he did assume the differences were diminishing. Lowe and Peek (1974) found that the use of rural-urban dimensions were important in predicting several attitudes and opinions in a nationwide survey...Buttel and Flinn (1975) have found that agrarianism in rural and urban areas is largely associated with the poorly educated or rural origins. In addition, they cite evidence that, contrary to convergence, there are some groups of urbanites who have adopted some agrarian values. Affluent white families move to open space suburbs and summer homes to recapture the rural atmosphere.

Fliegel (1976) reported a study...indicating that the differences in degree of acceptance of rural values are consistent across nations, with the more industrialized

workers being the most value modern. He also indicates that in all nations where industrialization is changing the traditional value base, the changes are in parallel directions, not convergent ones.

England, Gibbons and Johnson (1979) cite evidence from a cross-sectional study indicating that rurality increases the importance of some values, such as Kindness, physical development, honesty, religion, and self control. However, the results for other vlues were not consistent with the rural ideology hypothesis.

In general, it appears that neither the assertion of a rural ideology nor the claim of value convergence due to industrialization and urbanization is supported in totality. Rural residents to appear to hold a set of values unique to them, but the uniqueness and extent of their acceptance seems to be on the decline.

In addition to rural ideology, it has been argued that the relationships among individuals have changed from being Gemeinschaftlich to Gesellschaftlich as a consequence of urbanization, industrialization and modernization. (Kasarda and Janowitz, 1974). However, much evidence is now cited (Goldman and Dickens, 1983; Kasarda and Janowitz, 1974; England and Albrecht, 1984) to the effect that urban areas are also characterized by Geneinschaftlich relations. This does not mean that there are no differences between the kinds of contacts common in rural areas relative to those in non-rural area. A major difference is on the Gesellschaft pole of the dychotomy, Rural residents experience considerably fewer contacts with

others where the formal dimension predominates over the informal one. Even contacts with government and corporations usually involve a blend of the formal and informal. The loan officer of a rural branch office of a major bank may use his discretionary leeway and interpret corporate regulations in ways colored by the informal relations he is involved in as a local. Typically, rural inhabitants' encounters with formal organization are mediated by persons with strong informal relations with them which greatly color the formal relationship. However, this difference becomes difficult to sustain as the number of formal contacts increases and as non-locals are increasingly brought in to administer corporate and agency affairs.

The social structure of rural communities has also been characterized as traditionally distinct, but currently involved in major changes which make it less distinct. The traditional view has been one of communities in which there is relatively little bureaucratization or diversity. Gross and Donohue (1970) argue that urban organization, corporate farming and specialization are present in rural communities and make them part of an interdependent system emcompassing virtually all of society. Tilly (1974) and Goldman and Dickens (1983) argue that the unstratified, egalitarian image of rural society is simply a myth.

In summary, the evidence suggests that 1) while an image of rural community idealized as being built up of the agrarian ideology, interpersonal ties characterized by kinship and friendship, and social organizations that are egalitarian and

unbureaucratized, 2) the evidence indicates the image may never have been accurate, and 3) is not currently in existence. However, the evidence also reveals several differences between the rural and the non-rural community.

Part II

Reinforcing Rurality: Theory

Most of the theorie of change that account for the decline in rurality take the view that the process is inexorable. Kerr, et al. (1960) describe the "logic of industrialism" in which industrialization leads to changes in society. Similarly, theories of the consequences of urbanization, mass society, modernization, and bureaucratization are all expressed in terms of the changes that are the necessary consequences of these processes (Inkles and Smith, 1974; Eisenstadt, 1973; Boulding, 1968; Bell, 1960). Several Marxist writers (e.g. Althusser, 1979) take the same view of change within Marx' framwork. The implication of such view is that little can be done to change the trajectory of development.

Some significant theorists pose an alternative to the necessitarian view mentioned above. Giddens (1981) criticized Marx for characterizing man as primarily a tool-maker.

> Human social life neither begins nor ends in production. When Mumford calls man 'a mind-making, self-mastering, and self-designing animal', and when Frankel sees in human life a 'search for meaning', they are closer to supplying the bases for a philosophical anthropology of human culture than Marx was. (p. 155)

Marcuse (1941) made a similar point:

> The plant, however, does not 'comprehend' this development. It does not 'realize' it as its own and, therefore cannot reason its own potentialities in

> being. Such 'realization' is a process of the true subject and is reached only with the existence of man. Man alone has the power of self-realization, the power of self-determining subject in all processes of becoming, for he alone has an understanding of potentialities and a knowledge of 'notions'. (p. 9)

In both of these views man is a mixture of becoming and self determination which gives him the capacity to make reality over in line with potentialities. The study of human action involves understanding agents choosing and predicting in an environment of other agents choosing and predicting as well as the presence of constraining social structure. Giddens (1976, 1979) developed the notion of duality of structure to fit this context.

> The concept of structuration involves that of the duality of structure, which relates to the fundamentally recursive character of social life, and expresses the mutual dependence of structure and agency. By the duality of structure I mean that the structural properties of social systems are both the medium and the outcome of the practices that constitute those systems....The identification of structure with constraint is also rejected: structure is both enabling and constraining...Structure thus is not to be conceptualized as a barrier to action, but as essentially involved in its production (Giddens, 1979; 69-70).

On this view, industrialization, modernization, etc. act as constraints and enabling factors, not determinants. A person or group can, then, take as problematic the creation or maintenance of rurality within the constraints and structuring presented by industrialization, urbanization and modernization. The issue is not whether such an effort is Quixotic, but what must be accomplished to realize such a setting.

Herbert Simon (1981) proposes the notion of sciences of the artificial to characterize sciences which take the perspective proposed by Giddens and Marcuse. There are significant

differences between the animate and human sciences. One difference is the degree to which entities at the human level are pre-programmed or "wired" at birth for the major activities in which they will engage. A colt is born programmed to walk. A human infant must learn that one normally walks and how to walk. Simon (1981) stresses that while human beings are subject to both physical and biological laws, and limits, the lack of wiring and pre-programming has significant implications. For example, there are physiological limits to out memory structure, especially in terms of the time it takes to move information from short-term to long-term memory and the limited capactiy of short-term memory. However, these limits themselves have been overcome by human invention (i.e., paper, pencil and calculators make multiplication of two large numbers simple, though without them memory limits may make it impossible). The development of learning strategies, such as serialization, means-ends analysis, and simplification, are also devices for overcoming such limits. Even within the human sciences the distinction between the discovery of strategies and aids to overcome limits and learning of the known repertoire of such strategies and aids poses major differences in the nature of the science required for their understanding. Both require a science that is distinct in theory and method from the science of cockroach and rat learning.

The human science which deal with the development of strategies to achieve a desired goal, the use of learning strategies, and the creation of organization forms to achieve a specified goal all fit within Simon's concept of sciences of the artificial. A significant portion of human and organizational

effort strives to achieve goals. In some cases there are several known strategies. The actors' problems involve the selection of reasonably reliable strategy and its effective enactment. Such situations are frequently encountered in negotiations, athletic events, and war. In other cases, there are no existing strategies. In the United States, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration was created to develop an organization and technology that would accomplish what had never been done before: place people on the moon, obtain soil samples from Mars, and photograph Saturn closeup. The result was the creation of an organizational form and set of strategies that had not been undertaken before. A science of the artificial, either as the study of existing strategies or the creation of new strategies, calls for approaches that do not fit the usual hypothesis testing mode of natural science. The key difference is that causal necessity and natural law based determinacy are replaced by empirical possibility, technical feasibility, and situational appropriateness.

In spite of the common practice of describing causation in human terms, most people who do natural science write and act as though the causal relationship does involve an ontological necessity: the sequence of events is demanded by the invariant nature of the world with which natural science deals. In the sciences of the artificial, the causal necessity and natural law determinacy of the physical sciences form boundary conditions: they form that which is empirically possible and will not fail due to natural law. However, technical feasibility refers to two

aspects of human accomplishment. On the one hand, it refers to the standard repertoire of engineering uses of natural law made to achieve a goal. On the other hand, it is the set of skills and devices developed to overcome limitations placed by natural law. Computer memory and processing speed overcome some physiological limitations on human memory and information processing. Air planes and rockets make men less subject to the limitations placed on their physical movements by gravity.

Situational appropriateness also refers to two aspects of human endeavors. First, the culture and norms of a group may make the development of some artificial systems impossible because the people simply cannot conceive of such a thing. A corporate executive with graduate training in american business may not be able to conceive of a communal factory, let alone attempt to save his bankrupt corporation by forming such an organization. Second, while some alternatives are conceivable, they may not be adopted because the norms and rules indicate they are immoral or ineffective.

The sciences of the artificial are particularly significant because they emphasize the existence of systematic, rational efforts to achieve certain goals. They are useful in the context of rurality, in the sense that it is reasonable to develop strategies in an effort to preserve or establish rurality in the face of growing industrialization, urbanization, and modernization.

Part III

Reinforcing Rurality: Case Study

Recently, the United States Forest Service in cooperation with other agencies and local land owners implemented a project in central Utah to imporve rangeland for cattle grazing. It was undertaken in an area that is experiencing boom-like industrialization and urbanization due to a major electrial power plant that is under construction. The IPP project did not cause rangeland development, these are independent variables but related variables. The project had as one of its goals a systematic intervention to arrest the decline of rurality and reinforce it as an integral part of affected communities.

The rangeland rehabilitation project was undertaken on the Oak Creek Mountain Range and adjoining rangelands in central Utah. The affected range has four small communities located along its foothills. Their populations from 1930 to 1980 are presented in Table 1. All communities have experienced a constant decline in population from 1930 to 1970 and have 1980 populations below the 1930 figures.

Table 1

Employment in agriculture had declined form 58.5% of the 1930 work force in the country to 17.9% in 1980. However, a large proportion of the residents do farm on a part-time basis. Approximately 40% of the families in the four communities have permits to have livestock on the Oak Creek range during the summer.

The rehabilitation project involved clearing juniper, Oak brush, sagebrush and reseeding the grasses, drilling wells, capping springs and installing pipelines to distribute scarce water. Private land owners were invited and encouraged by government cost sharing to participate by having their private land included in the rehabilitation. A steering committee of local leaders was set up and still meets regularly. Public hearings were held in each community to describe the project and obtain public input. Much of the project was completed in 1980 and will be completed in 1984. The case study reported here involves an assessment of the project as of fall 1983, so it only evaluates the early phases of the project and the short-term responses.

Assessment Methodology. The primary sources of information for the assessment came from systematic conversations with local residents and observations of the residents. Residents were contacted on a selective basis to provide conversational accounts of the nature of their communities. Residents were selected based on their access to key items of information, their position as representatives of organizations within the community, or simply as ordinary actors within the community. They were engaged in informal conversations with probing questions used to elicit the needed information. All of those contacted were informed of the research before they discussed their community.

The description of each community was based on the view that the residents and their groups act on the basis of meaning of the situation with which they are currently confronted and their

plans and goals. This view requires that the traditional sociological approaches to measurement and data analysis not be employed. Sociologists such as Blumer (1956), Garfinkle (1967), Erikson (1976), and Cicourel (1964) have developed the approach used and have given it theoretical rationale. They argue that the traditional experimental or survey methodologies are inadequate for several reasons. The inadequacies include a lack of ability to probe meanings in any depth, the failure to include individual and collective planning, goal pursuit, decision-making, and innovative capabilities and the erroneous importation of concepts such as causality into human endeavors. The details of these criticisms can be examined in the references cited above as well as Habermas (1971).

The non-traditional methodology proposed is based on the assumption that meaning is best discovered through informal contacts between sociologists and the people of the community. The informal contacts are of two varieties: informal conversations and unobtrusive observation of the every day activities of residents.

The informal conversations are not interviews with fixed questions and response categories. They are discussions with individuals. In the course of the discussion, the sociologist asks questions that direct the conversation to the parts of the individual's beliefs and actions that are significant to the sociological purposes of the project. In the present project, comments about each variable are obtained from the individuals interviewed. If they are involved in organizations, similar discussions of their organizations are engaged in. As the

discussion proceeds, it is left sufficiently open and free so that the individual is also able to give direction to the conversation thereby adding information he or she feels is important. The observation of everyday activities was accomplished by spending time in local centers such as churches, stores, and cafes. The styles of interaction, language, and conversation content are all observed in such settings.

The use of conversation and involvement in everyday activities is a means for the sociologist to become a well-informed insider: one who comes to know the culture and structure of society as a consequence of the systematic observation and conversation insights gained. By systematically talking to a wide spectrum of residents, the sociologist comes to know and understand the community, its residents and organization from the dual position of insider and sociologist. The result is not numerical scaling in the traditional sense, it is for the most part a qualitative measure of the content of the society.

The persons selected for conversation were drawn from one of two lists. The first list included those most influential in the community. Some were the holders of formal positions such as mayors, LDS bishops, and presidents of the Cattlemen's Association. Others were added to the list on the basis of their informal influence. The second list contained every family residing in the community. It was constructed from existing listings such as the telephone directory, public records, and knowledge of local residents. A random sample was selected for conversations from this list.

The methodology for assessing the impacts of rangeland development is accomplished by meands of two techniques, both of which are based on observations at two points in time, so that the process of change resulting from the development can be followed. The observations involve repetitions of the conversation-observation techniques.

The first technique ascertains perceived and expected consequences. The first conversations probe to determin the anticipated consequences of the rangeland rehabilitation project. The conversations at the later date seek information concerning the perceived consequences and the feelings of the people with regard to these consequences.

The second technique examines the "objective" consequences of the developments. The technique is similar to that used in a broad range of well-accepted studies such as Clark Kerr, et al. in the Logic of Industrialism and Kai Erikson in Everying in Its Path. The technique is based on the assumption that the process of interest (whether it is industrialization, a sudden flood, or rangeland development) and the beliefs, values, and existing structure of the community, interact in such a way that there is a "logic" to subsequent changes. For example, the process of industrialization requires a mobile work force that will move to the factory sites. There is a logic to the contention that when that mobility is achieved, it will be impossible for the extended family to retain its traditional importance, because grandparents, aunts and uncles, cousins don't move, too. In other words, given demands of industrialization, it is illogical for the extended family to retain its traditional closeness. The

"logic" replaces a traditional methodology which uses control or comparison groups or communities. The use of the "logic" is needed in those settings where control or comparison communities cannot be obtained because of difficulty in matching them to the impact communities. Each community represents a collection of many diverse changes. It is extremely rare for any pair of communities to reflect the same blend of such things as energy development, well-being of agriculture, culture, and history. In addition, comaprison communities almost all represent a unique blend of changes, themselves. Such a situation makes the attribution of consequences of rangeland development based on comparison highly tenous, at best.

Results. The conversations with local leaders and representative informants were carried out in each of the four communities. The conversations were conducted as planned, except that they revealed a need to expand the set of people interviewed in two communities, Oak City and Leamington, to include some of the newcomers who were not included on the lists used to construct the random sample and leader list.

All of the communities studied have similar histories and were settled by people with similar backgrounds. They were settled in the mid 1800's by converts to the L.D.S. Church. In most cases, the people who settled the area saw the location of their settlement as an extension of thei conversion in which they were first divinely "called" to leave their established homes (commonly in Scandinavia, Switzerland or Great Britain) to come to Utah, specifically to Salt Lake City. Once in Salt Lake, they

were subsequently "called" to settle parts of Millard County. They were also "called" to establish an orderly agricultural community organized around an extensive combination of religious principles and leadership with secular affairs. Everyone was LDS, so there was no reason to separate the religious, political and secular activities. Given the uniformities in history of the communities in the background of their residents, it is not surprising that there is both a high degree of similarity between the four communities and a considerable degree of homogeneity among the residents of each community. This is especially true when it is recognized that virtually all of the residents have been in their communities for all of their lives and have had parents and grandparents who have also lived in the same community. This is particularly true of the people who provide religious and political leadership.

The migration that has occurred in these communities in the past has been out-migration. Natural population growth has not been sufficient to make-up for out-migration. The signs of out-migration can be seen in each of the communities where vacant homes and business can be seen. The most extreme example is called Scipio. The migration there has been interpreted by the residents in an interesting way, however, it is generally seen as a sign of the virility and vitality of the residents who succeed in having off-spring who can leave the area and compete successfully with the city dweller. In addition, several respondants have suggested that this city was over-populated. In the twenties, thirties and forties when population was highest, many families were unable to raise enough to provide for their

members. Consequently, the people were underfed, ill-clothed, and poorly housed. As they moved away, those who have remained are those who are strong and resourceful enough to make a success of life in these small communities.

Recently, the out-migration has declined and in-migration has increased, Scipio and Holden have experienced the drop in out-migration due to the ability of young people to find employment in larger cities, coal mines, or construction within commuting distance. Oak City and Leamington have experienced in-migration, and declining out-migration, largely due to the Intermountain Power Project. In-migration in both places has occured as several of the professional people associated with the project have chosen to live there. The blue-collar workers are locating closer to the project. Oak City has also attracted professionals from Detla, the nearby county seat, who dislike the way Delta, the recipient of most of the IPP growth, is growing. In both communities some of the newcomers are quite different from the residents: the newcomers are from outside of Utah and increase religious diversity.

A major concern of the conversations was to map the ways in which individuals are interlocked through family, friendships and work. All of the communities are characterized by extensive kinship networks where the majority of the residents are related through extended kinship ties or through marriages. Leamington and Oak City are also tied to each other through a number of families that are interlocked. The majority of residents are tied to several others in their community through life-long

friendships. Some newcomers in Oak City and Leamington are isolated in the sense that they are neither tied to others through the kinship networks nor through the life-long friendships. The quality of friendships they do develop differs from the long time residents because of its lack of history.

Each of the four communities exhibits a highly cohesive setting. The individuals are linked to each other in close personal ties and there are relatively few cleavages into conflicting groups. Virtually all respondents stressed the high degree of cohesiveness. There are relatively few groupings, such as business versus non-business to divide the communities. There is some concern that Oak City and Leamington may find growing divisions, however. first, both face the challenge of integrating newcomers. It is a problem because several of the newcomers are outsiders on several criteria: state of origin, orientation to agriculture, work, and religion. Many of the usual integrating mechanisms used in these places center on agriculture and religion. However, Oak City residents are consciously trying to overcome the problem by establishing many activities, such as picnics and athletic events, on a city basis rather than church. Second, Oak City has recently been divided into two ecclesiastical units (wards) instead of one as in the past. This may divide the community to some extent along the unit boundary.

The well-being of the residents can be assessed by objective and subjective criteria. The housing is generally old and modest, but well kept and neatly decorated. It is not middle class by urban standards, however. The amenities offered by the

communities are also limited. There is typically, one small store in each community. However, there are many opportunities for recreation through participation in adult athletics and use of the mountains. Most of the people interviewed fare very well on the subjective criteria. The people are generallly happy and feel their lives are being productive. There is a relatively high level of security.

There are virtually no class divisions in the communities. Certainly no large differences such as in urban areas. A group of middle aged males are very powerful on most political and social dimensions, but they do not form a class division.

The values in the communities are widely accepted, even many of the newcomers hold similar values on most of these dimensions. The value emphasis is on individualism, family, religion, and agriculture. Most of the people interviewed stress the significance of self-reliance and being able to act without fear of a lot of social pressure. People value family, not simply in the stereotypical way of saying it is important, but also in terms of actively striving to hold the family unit together. There are clear efforts to keep children nearby, even after they marry. Family also involves closeness to the extended family, not merely the nuclear. Religious values taught by the LDS Church are widely held and practiced. There is a clear acceptance of agriculture as a preferable way of life. People generally feel that it is sufficiently important that many will work full time to make it possible to farm a few acres part time. They hold other types of jobs, but still prefer agriculture. Many

more people in Holden and Scipio are able to be involved in agriculture full time. However, in several cases, the wife works outside the home to make this possible.

One of the major charcteristics of a modern society is change. People come to accept change as a fact of life and in many cases place a positive value on it (Inkles and Smith, 1972). However, in the communities studied change is neither accepted or valued. When asked how they would change their communities, the respondants indicated they lived there because they didn't want change. Many said that if newcomers have any desire to change things, they had best move out.

The organization structure of the four communities is very simple. The only large scale organization in the area is the L.D.S. Church. There are a few people who are associated with the Cattlemen's Association. No business is franchised or strongly linked to people outside the county. Bureaucracy is almost non-existent within the communities, though many must deal with a few state and federal agencies: something which is resented, but seen as a practical necessity.

The community structure is also very simple. Land use is either agricultural, residential, or community. There is virtually no business use. Each community has a store. Holden has a restaurant. Physical facilities include parks in Scipio and Oak City, volunteer fire departments, and post offices. No school is open in any of the cities. Each has a church house. People must go to Fillmore or Delta for health and dental care. No mental health services are available, beyond peer help.

None of the community leadership is oriented to rapid, large scale change. Scipio and Holden see no prospects for changes whether in terms of population growth, industrialization, or cultural. Oak City leadership are resisting population growth. That which occurs is restricted in nature to make it compatible with what exists. They are fighting the entry of blue collar workers from IPP and resist requests for annexation. Similarly, there is no desire to allow business or industry in. Leamington has been modernizing some public works, but population growth is restricted by the people who have no interest in selling land within the city.

The relaionship of the communities to the Forest Service is rather variable. Oak City and Leamington dislike the organization and its policies. The policies are viewed as being based on errors, especially the range management. Much of this may be due to the fire the Forest Service allowed to burn out of control in 1982. It got out of control and caused some damage in Oak City. Interestingly, the attitude toward local Forest Sevice personnel is very positive and appreciative. Holden and Scipio have positive attitudes toward the Forest Service and its policies. Even range management policies that create economic difficulties are viewed as temporary necessities leading to long term improvement.

The evidence indicates clearly that each of the four communities exemplifies most aspects of rurality. The value system, interpersonal relations and community social structure are extremely close to the idealized description of rurality.

Hence, the rangeland rehabilitation project is mianly a reenforcer of the existing rurality.

At this time, most of the project impacts are on the subjective and expectation level. It has not been in place long enough to produce economic or structural changes.

The differences in attitude toward the Forest Service are reflected in expectations about the specific range managment program to be evaluated in this project. Oak City ahd Leamington residents take a skeptical, wait and see attitude. They say the idea is good, but whether any positive impacts result will depend on whether and how the final phases of the project are implemented. On the other hand, Holden and Scipio have positive expectations about the project. The feeling there is that the project will make the participants better off economically. This is expected to have a multiplier effect reaching many others in town. Some are talking of increased productivity making it possible to bring a son into operation or to make it profitable to turn over to him. The feeling is also expressed that this will help these two communities retain the existing value system and community structure.

The Scipio and Holden residents also indicate the idea of the project and its implementation up to 1983 have already had an impact. The positive expectations have led some people to stay in agriculture who might have left it otherwise. It has made agriculture and the assocaited values and way of life seem much more promising and profitable. The feeling is that agriculture is still the way to go and that another generation will succeed in this enterprise in a way that the present generation has not.

In general, the rangeland management project is located in an area of four highly homogenous communities where traditional rural values are held and efforts are engaged in to avoid change. The Oak City-Leamington area is taking a wait-and-see attitude toward the project. Holden-Scipio see it as hiaving desired impacts on the future, leading to present optimism and presently strengthening the existing community structure. In both cases people are actively involved in the making of their communities and preserving the rurality present. The major question remains wjetjer the reinforcing features of the rangeland rehabilitation and the community efforts at preservation of their own rurality can succeed in the face of the major industrialization taking place nearby.

TABLE 1

Population of Project Communities From 1930 to 1980

	1930		1940		1950		1960		1970		1980	
CITY	N	%CH	N	%CH	N	%CH	N	%CH	N	%CH	N	%CH
LEAMINGTON	*	-	279	-	214	-23.3	190	-11.2	112	-41.1	113	0.9
HOLDEN	485	-	500	3.1	476	- 4.8	388	-18.5	351	- 9.5	364	3.7
OAK CITY	340	-	391	15.0	334	-14.6	312	- 6.6	278	-10.9	389	40.0
SCIPIO	544	-	595	9.4	491	-17.5	328	-33.2	264	-19.5	257	- 2.6

* - NOT AVAILABLE

%CH - PERCENT CHANGE

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